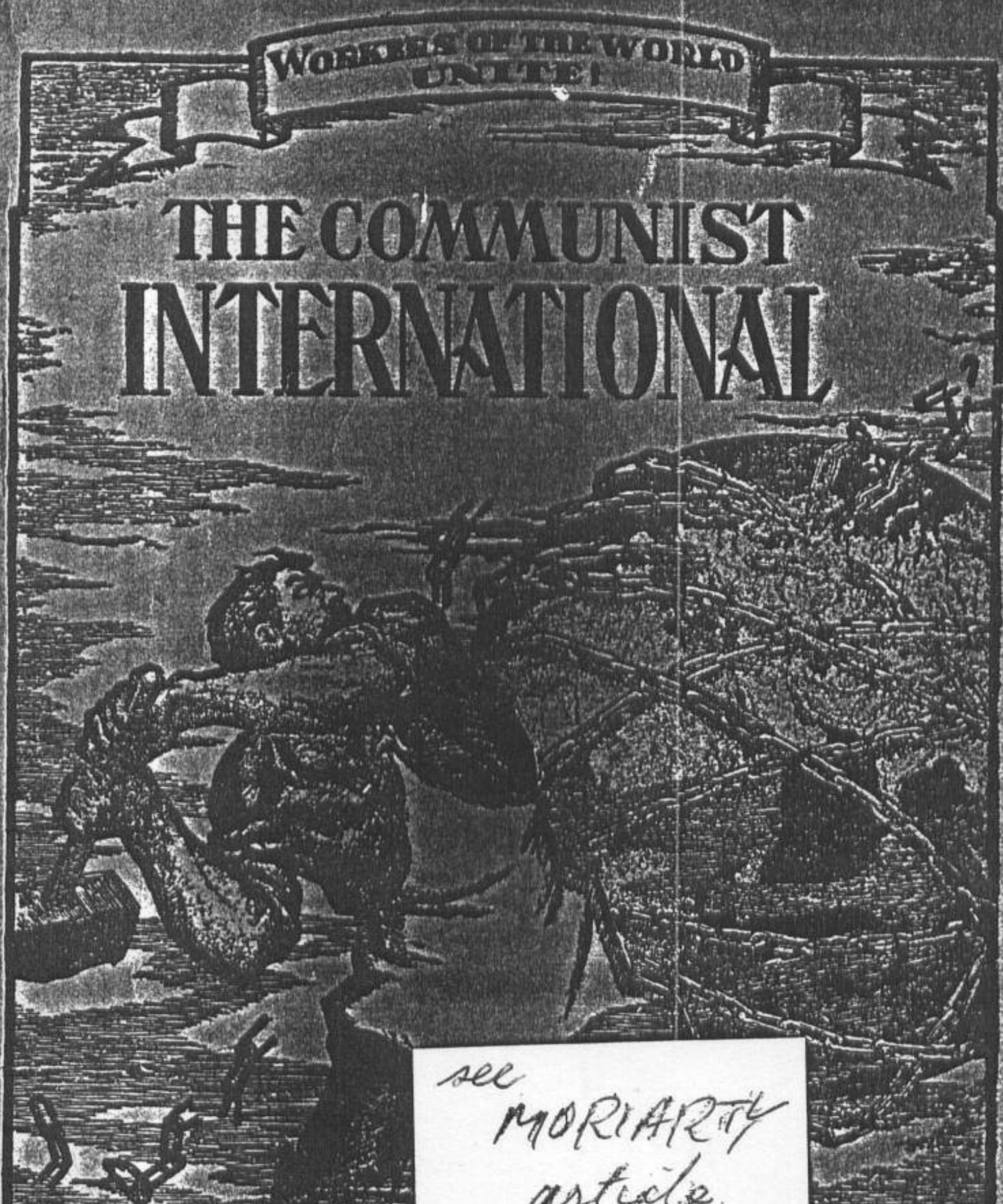
WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



see MORIARTY article.

on Canadian union sovereignty

NO. 12

6d.

Monthly Organ of the Executive Committee of the

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

1925 p

The Communist International

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Appears simultaneously in
English, Russian, French
and German

Publishing Office:
Leningrad, Smolny, 63. Tel. 1.19.

Editor's Office:
Leningrad, Smolny, Zinoviev's Cabinet

Published at 16 King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2.

CONTENTS

The Situation in Canada **W. Moriarty** - - - - 3

The War in Morocco **P. Sémard** - - - - 8

The New Tasks in the Rural Districts of the U.S.S.R.
X. X. X. - - - - - - - - - - 16

Partial Capitalist Stabilisation and our Tasks
G. Zinoviev - - - - - - - - - 35

The Decline of the "World's Shop" - - - - - 85

The British Working Class movement, the Left-wing and the Communist Party **R. Palme Dutt** - 97

The Situation in Canada

CANADA to-day faces a future full of political significance as to her own standing as a section of the British Empire and has been assured on many occasions since Canada placed her mark upon the Versailles of her sovereignty, only to discover on just as many other occasions that she is considered yet far too young to face an Imperialist world alone. The Dominion is a member of the League of Nations; she has signed a full-fledged treaty with America; she has borrowed billions from her powerful neighbour upon her own responsibility; and yet as recently as January last, she was told by the Privy Council (of Britain), that the Industrial Disputes Act is "ultra vires" of the Dominion Government as violating the provisions of the British North America Act.

Under the terms of this B.N.A. Act, the Governor-General is an Imperial officer, whose consent must be obtained for any parliamentary measure before it can become law. The Imperial Parliament has not the power to disallow any Canadian parliamentary measure, although it can legislate for the whole Empire. But the Governor-General acts, not on the instruction of the British Parliament, but on that of the Crown which stands above Parliament. It can, therefore, be seen that the B.N.A. (British North America) Act apparently allows the Dominion free reign, but carefully restricts action when at any time the offspring moves too fast for the parent. It is not suggested here that the Industrial Disputes Act mentioned was declared to be of no standing because it was too progressive. The Act assumes importance chiefly because it provoked the Privy Council decision at a time when Canada was really tugging too vigorously at the "bonds" of Empire, and follows on the refusal of Britain to accept the terms of the Protocol and to imply that her decision covered all the Dominions. This again moved Canada to anger and brought forth a direct refusal to ratify the mother country's action or to bring forward counter or additional proposals.

All of the above is descriptive only of more recent happenings in Canadian political life and refer only to the tendency toward independence. As a rule the Canadian press is

silent upon such a dangerous subject and is apparently determined not to encourage popular discussion on these matters. The British press is more concerned as to Canada's future. On the other hand, we can observe the growing influence of America.

Prior to the war, Canada looked to Britain for her capital and British investments were heavy. The two transcontinental railroads promised profitable returns, and indicated a potential field for very successful investments. But the war changed matters greatly, and the flow of British capital subsided. Conversely with this decline was the increase in American investments until at the present moment America tops Britain's total slightly. The figures are: 2¾ billions of dollars for the U.S.A., and 2½ billions of dollars for Great Britain. (1914 figures were United States 750 *millions* of dollars; Great Britain nearly 2¾ *billions* of dollars; since the war Britain has resold over 200 millions of her Canadian securities.) The major portion of the Yankee figure is behind industrial development, and naturally Britain's biggest total is agrarian. America's contribution to Canada's development was, unlike that of England, so framed as to bind the Canadian branches of her industries closely to the parent bodies. At present there are about 800 of these American "branch" factories in the Dominion, and these, coupled with other factors in the process of peaceful penetration (American films, newspaper correspondents, magazines, fraternal organisations like the Kiwania Club, etc., etc.), have all helped to show that Canadian interests lies not within the Empire, but without; and also serve to explain the Conservative protests against the destructive industrial competition of Britain. The psychological effect of the prolonged boom in the United States upon the Canadian populace has also been great for Canada has had no outlet in the crisis she has experienced since 1919. Hundreds of thousands of workers have entered the States from Canada and latterly the border has been closed even to citizens of many years standing. All of which has served to leave the impression that under complete American domination her poorer relative would prosper.

Economically, Canada goes from bad to worse. Her public debt has increased about 11 times since 1914; the 220 millions now standing at nearly 3 billions. Efforts to increase her population have all failed, at one period the greater part of 1923, emigration exceeded immigration. Unemployment has been rife, and in spite of the big crops

of 1923 and 1924, the poor farmers are poverty stricken. The farmers have fallen away in organisation since the days of their successes of 1919 and on. The Ontario farmers were decisively beaten at the 1923 provincial election; the maritime provinces organisation has almost disappeared; in Manitoba and Saskatchewan the farmers are behind the 62 "Progressive" members of the Federal House; but the support given the Liberal Party by this group preserves the present government in power, and labels the farmers as being really Liberal at heart. As a consequence, the Farmers' Union of Canada, an organisation of 600 branches, about 25,000 members and less than three years old, is anti-parliamentarian in outlook. This body contained revolutionary possibilities and actually in some places organised armed resistance to the Sheriff seizures. The Communist Parties have been active in this field, and have conducted a vigorous campaign for the Farmer-Labour Party. Our propagandists have been blacklisted by the F.U.C. officials, but we are now in definite connection by means of English-speaking branches, and quite a number of Finnish and Ukrainian comrades working as fractions. The problem of the farmers' movement has been aggravated by proposals of fusion of the more reactionary Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and the Farmers' Union. These negotiations are likely to materialise and undoubtedly the inexperienced leadership of the F.U.C. will be as pawns in the hands of the more experienced politicians of the S.G.G.A. who will very quickly tone down the fighting qualities of the poorer farmers' movement. In Alberta the provincial legislature is still in the hands of the farmers, and the leadership here is at the least much more progressive. But all in all, there is much need for work before we will be able to say that the farmers are anti-capitalist. Our efforts must be directed toward winning the poor farmers over to closer contact with their exploited industrial brethren; to expose those Liberals who are masquerading under the guise of "Progressives" and to break down the opposition to parliamentary action by our propaganda for the Farmer-Labour Party, and at the same time avoid the possible dangers of too great contact between the reactionary elements of the Canadian Labour Party and the office-seekers of the older established farmer organisations.

The trade union movement is in the hands of complete reactionaries. The official organisation is the Dominion Trades Congress, which only differs from the A. F. of L. in that it supports the Canadian Labour Party and is affiliated with Amsterdam. In all other matters can be seen the

imprints of Gomperism. As a result, the C.P.C. has been agitating for autonomy for the Canadian movement, *i.e.*, to establish the right to call general strikes and to govern its own affairs. This would allow greater support for any general strike of which there have been several of late years of great importance, but in regard to which the Congress might have ben non-existent. For instance, the present (March) Nova Scotia miners' strike is but a continuation of the struggles of the past few years, which have all been refused support by Lewis, the reactionary head of the United Mine Workers of America, on the grounds that the 100 per cent. strike is contrary to the constitution and principles of the U.M.W.A. Yet there is no other recourse left to the workers than that of a complete tie-up; for they have had to battle with the provincial police, governmental troops and arrests and imprisonments. Of particular appeal is the Communist slogan of Nationalisation of the Mines. In the East (Nova Scotia) as touched upon above, the miners have had to fight on all fronts against the Central British Empire Steel Corporation (BESCO). Even the U.M.W.A. officials have lined up with BESCO against the men, taking away the charter and installing a provisional executive which was only withdrawn when it became evident that the beginning of 1925 would see another wage struggle. The consequent elections resulted in the return of a full Communist slate, whose fighting qualities are being tested by the strike already mentioned.

The Western miners are unfortunate in that their leadership is Lewis-controlled, and this resulted in their defeat after the six months' strike which ended last October. Dissatisfaction is general, and is becoming more pronounced with every move of the reactionaries. The names of Communists have been struck off the ballots, and the sentiment thus created by the lack of fight on the part of the executive is producing apathy, and even in some cases (Fernie, Michel) withdrawal from the U.M.W.A. and acceptance of the company union. It is in this section that we find most deeply rooted the antipathy towards participation in the yearly Trades Congress. The left-wing minimises the importance of carrying on the struggle against reaction on every possible occasion, and this attitude is partly responsible for the weakness of our delegations. Other causes are financial in origin.

The campaign for International Trade Union Unity is receiving support from the masses, which will undoubtedly

increase as the movement grows. The majority of trade unionists allied with the Congress are of British origin, and will follow the lead already given by the Old Country movements. But on the other hand, the executive will be under pressure also from the American Federation of Labour, and the anti-unity section of Amsterdam. The American sentiment is already expressed in the refusal to even affiliate with Amsterdam, so everything will depend upon the activity of the left-wing among the rank and file if we are to see last year's Congress decision reversed.

The Canadian Labour Party is not yet established as a Dominion—wide organisation. There are provincial sections established in Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia. The Communists are firmly established in each section, and work well as party fractions. But the reformists are not keen to see the C.L.P. develop along present lines. The Communists are pushing a little too steadily toward the left for the comfort of those who prefer the social possibilities contained in an emulation of MacDonaldism. But the rank and file are behind the left, and there is no doubt that any attempt made to exclude our Party would stir up too much trouble for the reactionaries. Efforts are still being made to extend the activity of the Labour Party into other fields beside those of purely electoral endeavour, but distance and other difficulties make progress slow.

In coping with all of the above problems, the Canadian Party has acquitted itself well enough when allowances are made for the composition of our membership, the immense distances, prolonged unemployment, and the loss of many of our active spirits who have been forced to seek work in America. But our influence is steadily growing and the English-speaking workers becoming less shy of associating themselves with a Communist Party, resulting in a desirable influx of new members. This will assist materially in our tasks of establishing Canadian Trade Union autonomy; in the fight for World Unity; the struggle for freedom from imperialist domination; the abolition of the British North America Act, which serves as a shield of our politicians on each question as unemployment relief and the 8-hour day; and the important matter of bringing the poor farmers into alignment with the industrial workers so as to facilitate the struggle for the Canadian Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

W. MORIARTY.